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inflammation in the face the girl has to fast for some days after the operation.

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Tattooing has a purely magical significance, as may be inferred from the fact that the Mataco and the Choroti women regard it particularly as a protection against disease. Analyzing the custom, we can distinguish at least three factors in it, all of which are associated with magical ideas: first, the scarification or bleeding itself; second, the matter (soot, ashes), rubbed into the wounds; and third, the patterns and marks incised which remain when the wounds have healed. Bleeding and scarification are common practices of purely magical significance among all Indians of South America, and as far as the Pilcomayo tribes are concerned I shall have occasion to mention this custom again in a later chapter. The very scars left after such operations are regarded as a protection against evil spirits. Further, that tattooing is done by means of ashes or soot is certainly not an accident. The use of ashes for superstitious purposes is of frequent occurrence among the Indians, the general idea being that ashes are a prophylactic against evil spirits. The custom of mixing ashes or soot with saliva is significant from the same point of view, for magical virtues are commonly ascribed to the saliva.

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All women among the Choroti are tattooed in the same way, that is, have the same marks and patterns applied to the face, and no full-grown woman lacks this tribal characteristic. Since tattooing is regarded as a permanent protection against evil spirits and sickness, it is natural that a woman lacking it should be shunned by the men, but it is not a means of attraction or a «decoration» in the common sense of the word.

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As to the *Tobas*, tattooing or the custom of making indelible marks on the body or the face was formerly in vogue among all Toba tribes as among all peoples of the Guaycurú-group; but the Bolivian Tobas of the present day have dropped this custom, contenting themselves with simple body painting. Tattooing among the Tobas seems to have been limited to the female sex, as indeed is the rule among the Chaco tribes. According to d'Orbigny, the Toba girls were tattooed when they attained puberty and became marriageable. Since the custom is no longer practised by the Bolivian Tobas I have not seen how it is done by them. The procedure, however, is the same as among other Chaco tribes, incisions being made in the face and ashes rubbed into the wounds. As appears from the photographs of some Toba women which Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche took in Buenos Aires in 1899 the tattooing practised by the Toba women was exceedingly elaborate and complicated.

tion to the men shaking rattles, one or more Indians are beating drums and chanting. These noisy ceremonies are continued with short intervals during the whole night. When one party of Indians are tired and stop to rest for a moment, they are relieved by another party, since it is considered very important that there should be no interruption in the ceremonies; otherwise they would lose something of their effect. In the early morning the danger is believed to have passed; the fermentation has taken place, and the evil spirits have not been able to approach the drink and spoil it.

Although this negative object of the rites is particularly emphasized by the Indians, they also have a positive object which is indicated by the very expression «hurry on the fermentation». As we have already seen, the fruit of which the drink is made is believed to be animated by a spirit, and it is the same spirit that is active in the fermented, intoxicating beer. The rites described, while they are supposed to keep off evil spirits, are also intended to influence magically the plant-spirit itself and to bring it to its highest point of development, which is marked by the fermentation. This is partly effected through the chanting, the shaking of rattles, and the drumming, partly through the procedure of mixing the mashed fruit with saliva. The saliva really has the property of bringing about fermentation, and this phenomenon is explained by the superstitious Indian as due to the supernatural virtues which this secretion is believed to possess. Even the fact that only old women chew the fruit is probably not accidental. Old people have by nature a stronger magical power than the young and their saliva has therefore greater efficacy.

The Chaco Indians not only try to promote the growth of the fruits by shaking rattles and drumming, but also by dancing. Thus the Toba dance *Nahót dónnaran* is not only performed in cases of sickness, but also with a view to «hurrying on» the chanar fruit (*niapilák tákkai*). Once I witnessed such a ceremony. The chanar fruit — next to the algaroba the most important of the fruits growing in the Chaco forests — reaches maturity in the month of October and forms the staple food of the Indians during that month. The dance was performed in the following way. The fruit gathered in during the day was spread out on cloths or big hides on the ground outside the houses, where they are generally laid to dry. The dance took place at night. A young man began to dance alone, stamping alternately with his feet on the ground, without using any rattle, and chanting at first in a low voice. Gradually his movements

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CHAPTER XVII.

Magical ornaments and amulets.

In my *Civilization of the South American Indians* I have shown that most Indian ornaments have originally had a purely magical significance, although among tribes affected by European culture they have gradually lost this significance and become real decorations. Among the Chaco Indians also this course of development is conspicuous, for instance with regard to tattooing, body-painting, and the majority of other personal ornaments. The principles of *tattooing*, as it is practised by the Choroti, Mataco, and Tobas, have been set forth by me in a previous chapter.¹⁾ Tattooing is first of all closely related to scarification and bleeding, customs quite commonly practised by the Indians in all parts of South America. Blood-letting is in itself regarded as a method of purifying the human organism from evil and impure spirits. The spirits are supposed to enter the system, and especially to mix in the blood, thus giving rise to ailments of different kinds and to a state of weakness in the particular part of the body to which they have attached themselves. The Indian thinks that by bleeding that part he will rid himself of the dangerous intruder, just as he sometimes thinks it will leave his body with the mere perspiration, and this belief is naturally supported by the fact that in certain cases such purgations may really give some relief. The Chaco Indians are quite familiar with this idea. Thus among the *Choroti* it is a common thing for the men to bleed themselves with a sharp bone obtained from a certain magical animal or a splinter of a certain wood before certain important undertakings. Thus they say that, by drawing blood from the arm, the limb will get more strength for pulling the bow; the practice is therefore especially

¹⁾ See *supra*, pp. 89 sq.

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